14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.

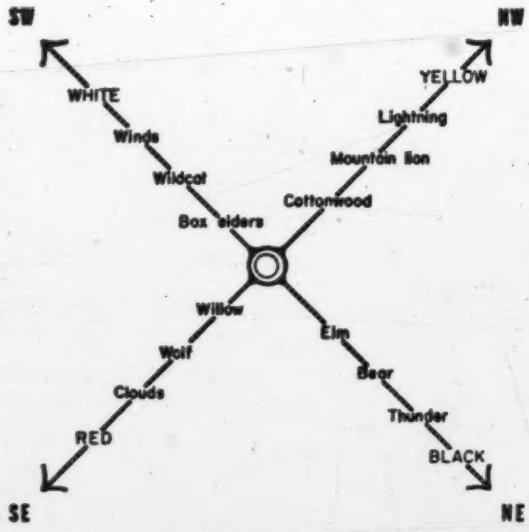

FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243
242

named ten, one being Osage. George F. Will, nurseryman and anthropologist of North Dakota, experimented with planting Indian corn from various tribes of the Missouri River region and managed to isolate nine pure strains of Pawnee corn. These correspond wit.. considerable accuracy to those named by Mark Evarts. I have placed his classification as it appeared in his publication (Will and Hyde, 1919) in a parallel column alongside that of Mark Evarts. (See Table 11-1.)

TABLE 11-1. *Classifications of Varieties of Pawnee Corn.*

	As Named by Mark Evarts	As Named by Will and Hyde, 1919
1.	*Blue* corn—*uraax-katit*, earth-black, referring to very dark blue	Blue *flour* corn, No. 40
2.	*Spotted* corn, *rikis-tipiku*, corn-spotted (*ripiku*, egg)	Black-eyed and red-speckled corn, p. 308
3.	*White* corn, big kernels, *rikis-taka*, corn-white	White *flour* corn, No. 36
4.	White with small kernels, *rikis-paruk-sti*, corn-holy	Not identified by authors
5.	*Yellow* corn, harder variety, *rikis-taxkata*, corn-yellow	Yellow *flint*, No. 38
6.	A yellow corn, softer than No. 5, called *parus-arut*, rabbit-soft	Yellow *flour* corn, No. 37
7.	Hard corn, *kitsirit*, flinty, hard, translucent; real smooth, with different colored kernels on the same cob—white, spotted, yellow	Red *flint*, No. 89, flinty mixed colors with red predominating
8.	*Red* corn—*rikis-pahat*, corn-red	Red *flour* corn, No. 45
9.	Sweet corn—*rikis-karus*, corn-sweet, somewhat reddish yellow and sticky	Sweet corn, yellow sugar corn, No. 41
10.	Osage corn—*rikis-pasasi*, corn-Osage, gotten from Osage, grows 9-10 feet high and can have 8 or 9 ears on one stalk	

243
242
772
.82

From the experiments of George Will, it is evident that the Pawnees were quite capable of producing pure strains of corn and maintaining the breeds. And yet when asked to list the classes of corn that they had, they did so in terms of a certain order of colors rather than by a horticultural classification. Consistent with the Pawnee belief that the Heavens are the first cause of all things, this is a cosmic rather than a botanical classification. In Pawnee theology, the four semicardinal directions are associated with the four color designations—northeast–black; southeast–white; northwest–yellow; and southeast–red. In the creation legend it is stated that in the western part of the ancient territory there were four villages,

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

each representing one of the semicardinal directions; each had a different-colored ear of corn in its sacred bundle, as cited above. The order of the colors of corn followed by Mark Evarts in his classification if translated into directions are northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast. This diagonal succession forms a simple cross, the Pawnee symbol for a star. What star is implied is not known. Typically of Pawnee thought, there must be deeper theological meanings and references than are apparent. The order of naming the varieties of corn is clearly connected with these religious implications.

For the Pawnee, there is very little that does not have some direct connection with the cosmos. But in sharp contrast to the corn, the other two crops, squash and beans, have no religious connotations whatever. This lack of ideological involvement seems strange, as we know archaeologically that first squash and then beans were the earliest domesticated crops in the New World, followed after a considerable time interval by the domestication of corn. Among the Pawnees the whole horticultural cycle was conducted in terms of the corn. In the spring the corn was the first of the three crops to sprout, and in the fall it was the first to mature. There were seven common varieties of squash and pumpkins current among the Pawnees at that time and eight of beans. (See figures 11-1 and 11-3.)